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ceed in obtaining any evidence to show whether the other clans also had any characteristic or distinctive facial tattoo, for this practice was abandoned so long ago that the memory of it has been obliterated.

The former existence of similar distinctive elements, now lost, would explain some of the differences in the statements of the early writers about Tukuna facial tattooing (see p. 39). Nino once told me that the members of the clan ɔ'/ta' (chicken) could be recognized from afar, since, when walking, they used to nod their heads just like chickens, but as this clan did not live in that locality, he could not prove his statement by concrete examples. In conversation, a certain Indian told some others that he was a runt because he belonged to the clan ɛ̃ɛ̃'vɛ̃'ru, the name of a small kind of anahy. Lastly, an Indian once said that I should belong to the clan kaurɛ̃' (Japihím) because, like that bird, I had blue eyes. In any case, the idea that some characteristic of the eponym should, or may, appear in the members of a clan is not entirely strange to the Tukuna.

In the feather ornaments used even today at the rites of passage there is not a single clan distinction. On the wall of the girl's seclusion hut a figure of a deer is painted, not because this animal is related to any clan, but because the deer is the symbol of that vigilance which the girl and those responsible for her should observe.

It is said that the members of the clan tɛ̃'ma (Burity) formerly spoke a language different from the others', a statement that could be true only if this clan had been collectively localized. There is a legend that refers to the origin of the clans, but not of their names, since it relates only how the culture hero dyɔi', after fishing, in the company of his brother ɛ'pí, for the first men, separated his people from his brother's, this separation being the origin of the moieties. Afterward he ordered a *jacurarú* to be cooked, and all were obliged to taste the broth; thus each one learned to which clan he belonged. According to another version, a pot containing a boiled *jacuruxy* was sent from heaven by ta-ɛ̃' ("Our Mother") for the same purpose (see p. 114). I do not believe that these facts justify classifying the Tukuna clans as totemic, as the Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis, after only lightly touching the subject, would like to do.[1] There is not a trace of belief in a mystical parenthood common to members of a clan and the respective tree or animal correlated with it, nor do these correlations represent any emotional value.

The personal name.—There is one element, however, by which an informed person may recognize an individual's clan without directly asking him: the personal name, which in veiled fashion indicates or connotes the tree or animal of the clan by reference to some quality, as illustrated in the following tabulation.

Clan čiva'
(Beringarana; jaguar)

Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ ʋanɛ̃'-kị	false [jaguar], that is, one that does not pursue man	ʋanɛ̃', false; kị, masc name suffix
♂ nu'ɛ̃'tị-kị	evil-eyed [jaguar]	nu', bad; ɛ̃'tị, eye

[1] The author's opinion only. Most anthropologists would unhesitatingly dub the phenomenon totemic.—Ed.

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♂ ãu/mɨ̃'-kɨ	[jaguar] who places hand on top [of human tracks]	Refers to supposed custom of jaguar's placing its paw on a man's tracks; if the trail is cold, the animal will not follow it.
♂ mɨ̃'matɨ-kɨ	[jaguar] of handsome markings	mã, handsome; tɨ, markings
♂ dya:'ga-kɨ	[jaguar] who cries from afar	dya:'ga, to cry from afar
♂ a'u'kɨ-na	dangerous [jaguar]	na a'ukɨma, she is dangerous; na, fem. name suffix
♀ mɨ̃'čitɨ-na	handsome tracks [of jaguar], that is, fresh tracks	mã, handsome; ʔau-čitɨ', my tracks
♀ čita'-na	[seringarana] on the ground [i.e., rotten]	na'i' ta, fallen tree
♀ bu:'/nã-na	plump [seringarana]	bu:'/nã, plump, chubby
♀ daũtatɨ-na	red leaf [of seringarana]	da'u, red; ãa'tɨ, leaf

It is noteworthy that all the masculine names refer to an animal, the jaguar, whereas the feminine, for the most part, refer to a tree, the seringarana.

Clan a:'ru
(Auahy grande; agouti)

Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ ãũrũ̃-kɨ		na'i'ãũ̃, wider at the bottom; rũ̃, lengthened. Refers to the auahy-bull rattles hanging together from a cord so that the volume of the rattles is greater at the bottom than at the top where they are tied.
♂ tu:'rũ̃-kɨ		tɨ:, to hang; rũ̃, lengthened. Refers to the pendant hulls of auahy fruit.
♀ dõ'-na	[fruit] being picked [from auahy tree]	dõ'ã, to pick, pluck
♀ vãgɨ'nã-na		vãgɨ, passing here to there (as a cipó or harpoon line stretched for drying). Refers to new auahy shoots, which are similar to cipó.
♂ vi/vi'ã-kɨ		vi/vi' reproduces onomatopoetically the noise made by the agouti gnawing fruits.
♂ ãe:'nɨ'	[agouti] that likes [to eat fruit of] matamatá	ãe:, envira de matamatá; nɨ', to like [to eat]

Clan ãɔ̃'
(Red macaw, *arara vermelho*)

Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ kvaita'činɨ'-kɨ	[macaw] beating wings [seated]	ta'činɨi', wing; na kva'i, beat
♂ yuũ-kɨ	[macaw] hopping [from one branch to another]	yuu', to jump from one place to another
♀ ãučirũ-na	[macaw that lets] fall the rest [of the fruit]	ãu, to fall; čirũ, the rest
♀ gɔ'ã-kɨ	[macaw] that flew	na'i' gɔ'e, he flew

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Clan ãʊ/nɨ[1]

(Horse turkey, mutum cassella)

Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ ɸ'kira-kɨ	[turkey] that grows a tail	ɸ, to form; kjra', tail [of a bird]
♂ tĩ'a'kjra-kɨ	[turkey] spreading tail in fan	tĩ, to spread tail in a fan; kjra', tail [of a bird]
♀ ãʊa'ĕi-na	[turkey] that arrives suddenly	ãʊ, to arrive; a'ĕi, suddenly. The turkey, after bathing in the clay pit of the taitetús, dries itself by hopping out with a sudden leap.
♀ mẽ'ʔɨ-na	[turkey] of good sight	mẽ, good; ʔ'ʔɨ, eye, vision, sight

Certain persons, old women especially, command a rich repertoire of various clan names, hence they are summoned and consulted when a child is to be given a name. According to Monteiro Noronha and those who quote him, the name was given after circumcision, that is, "shortly after birth." "This [circumcision] ceremony is a result[2] of giving a name to the children with celebrations [and] dances in the presence of a horrible figure which is said to be the Devil [dance mask]."

Today the name is given when the child is one day old, after the bath; it is conferred by a maternal relative, a member of the moiety complementary to the child's, with a preference for the grandmother in whose house the parents and relatives have gathered with the newborn infant. First, however, names are proposed by one of the women who understand these things, as mentioned above, who are invited for this purpose. Afterward the name is newly proclaimed and confirmed at the ceremony of painting the child red with urucú, when it begins to crawl, and at the hair-plucking ceremony, when the child is two years old. The proclamation of the name is always accompanied by the shout of "ye[a]!" and the raising of the child's ornaments into the air.

Nowadays, the Tukuna, except some children, are all baptized by Capuchin friars of São Paulo de Olivença and bear Portuguese names, often pronounced so as to be quite unrecognizable. Some persons are known only by their baptismal names, even among their tribesmen; but without exception all have and know their native names, and I never observed on the part of the owners any reluctance to divulge their names when asked to do so.

Moieties

The Tukuna refer to the clan quite frequently, but never to the moiety, yet the latter is of much greater importance. The principal function of the moieties is exogamy, although the Tukuna are not aware of the existence of their dual organization; they know only that members of certain clans may not marry members of certain others.

[1] Literal translation. The statements are contradictory: "name given after circumcision"; "[circumcision] a result of giving a name."—Trans.

[2] Monteiro Noronha, § 140.

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PLATE 2

Children of mëẽ'tʃua (pl. 3, *a*), Igarapé da Rita. *a*. Genezio vanẽ'k], aged twenty-five. *b*. Manoel nuẽ'tʃ-k], aged sixteen. *c*. Avellina čita'na, aged twenty. *d*. Beloca bu':'-nẽ-na, aged twelve.

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PLATE 3

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a. mïʷ'tjua, Igarapé da Rita, aged fifty. *b*. Josefa dya'ĕimɨna, aged twelve, Igarapézinho. *c*. Joaquim gɨ'ʷĕ', aged eighteen, Igarapézinho, brother of Josefa. *d*, Julio dyïĕ', Igarapézhino, aged fourteen, brother of Josefa.

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apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments (rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

Moieties and clans.—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan. A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth.

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in 1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his life and by annihilating his soul after his death.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death.

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky. At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.